592 The Batutsi women each occupy her own rugo with her chil-
595 dren, women servants (abaja), and cattle given by the husband. The concubines live one or two together in separate huts inside the rugo of a legitimate wife.

Occasionally, the Bahutu wives occupy the same hut, but only for a rather short time.

514 The wife is not required to return occasionally to her parents.
787 However, the auguries may decide that childbirth will be more successful in her own family. [27]

7. Rights and Obligations of Husband and Wife

593 According to custom, the husband has the general duty of aiding and assisting his wife (kukamira umugore, lit., to milk [a cow] for his wife). He must provide her with clothing and ornaments (1),

[301] 1. In the past the husband spent a great deal to provide his wife with ububutega (rings made of grasses) which she wore by the hundred on her legs. This finery which weighed down the Banyarwanda woman's figure and interfered with walking was considered the height of elegance, for it gave her the gait of cows that are [481] universally admired in Ruanda.

and nurse her when she is sick. In the same way, a wife who abandoned her husband when he was ill or in trouble would be disgraced.

593 Separation of property exists between husband and wife. The
421 wife owns her rugo, her field, and in addition, among the Batutsi,
563 some inyarulembo cattle (2) and some abagaragu that she received

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 44.

from her husband.

837 It may also happen that the accomplice marries the mother of his child. A complaisant husband, or one who, knowing that his wife is unfaithful, keeps her in spite of all, [30] is the object of ridicule by his neighbors and friends, who do not hesitate to call him inganzwa.

837 586 Among the Bahutu, the adulterous wife is beaten by her husband and sent back to her family. If there are no children from the marriage the husband will claim the dowry paid to the wife's parents.

837 Among the Batwa, adulterry is hardly important. If a wife is unfaithful her husband forgives her, and if she is pregnant he considers the child his own.

8. Extramarital Relations

836 684 Sexual relations have always been strictly forbidden to young Batutsi and Bahutu girls. Violation of this interdiction would bring great misfortune to the families, says the voice of the people. In the past, pregnant girls (ikinyandaro) (1) were often even killed with their

1. According to the beliefs of the Banyarwanda, a girl taken by force does not become pregnant.

children, or else they were led beyond the froniters of Ruanda to a desert island in Lake Kivu where they died of hunger, unless the Banyabungo came to their rescue. Sometimes they were led to Urundi. where they had to remain until they gave birth. The child was killed or abandoned to the Barundi.

Today these cruel sanctions no longer exist, but a girl-mother is always considered a disgrace (inshyano) to her parents. The latter, however, usually take in the child.

Nevertheless, the young nobles do not deprive themselves of having sexual relations with the abagaragu girls placed with their fathers as servants. On the other hand, the Mututsi young man caught with a girl of his own caste was punished in the past in the same way as the accomplice of a married woman. [31]

837 [574] The great chiefs who possess concubines (insholeke) put them at the disposal of their visiting friends and relatives.

Blood brothers or friends sometimes exchange their wives for a night (guhan'ingo, lit., to exchange the ingo).

192 is appointed, the owners of several heads of cattle must present him with
431 a cow. The abagaragu can, but are not obliged to, do likewise.
231 3) When the king or an umutware dismisses or despoils a chief, the abagaragu of the new chief can also each give him an indabukirano.

The Bahutu give goats, sheep, and hoes. [57]

192 INTORE. 1) Like the king, certain great chiefs possess a corps of
231 intore (dancing pages) (1) (2). A rich Mututsi's child who goes to a
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1. From gutora, "to take," or gutorana, "to levy," "to choose."

2. Cf. Government and Administration, The Intore, p. 78.

provincial chief to become a page brings him a y'intore cow, which is given to the umutware y'intore (commander of the pages), who thus becomes in a way the shebuja of the child's father. The latter however is not held by any bond like an ordinary client.

192 2) Also called intore are the cows given compulsorily by the
231 abagaragu to a noble Mututsi who succeeds his father as head of the
651 family.

3) Tax paid in cows.

INGORORANO (3). Cow given to reward a warrior for his courage

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3. From kugurorera, "to gratify."

or for a service rendered. Whoever has cared well for the master's cows (inyarulembo) or ingarigari) or who has cultivated his fields well may receive a cow. To reward the umutware w'intore for his instruction, the father of a page also gives an ingororano.

192 UMUHETO. A cow taken with a bow and arrow (umuheto). This
231 used to be war booty. In the past this name was also given to the tax paid
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651 by warriors.

IMIGOGORO (4). A cow sent every day to the white people to

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4. From mogogoro, "fatigue," "annoyance," "imposition." Before the Belgian occupation these cows were called imbyukuruke (lit., parade).

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234 supply them with milk. In Kinyaga (Shangugu) and in Bugoyi, it is
574 called umuheto. In Ndorwa it is called kibere. [58]

IMBYUKURUKE. A choice cow destined to be shown to a visiting high personage and to provide him with milk during his stay.

192 IBIHEMBO. Gift of cows to the wife of the king, a great chief,
431 or a patron when she has a child.
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The gift made by the Bahutu consisting simply of milk or beer is called y'ibihembo.

192 INTIZO (1). 1) A man who has been despoiled by his chief re-
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1. From gutiza, "to lend."

ceives a cow from a friend as a loan (intizo) until justice is done. The friend may perhaps only give him milk (intizo), because by sending a cow he would ostensibly show his friendship and would thus risk incurring the wrath of the chief.

192 2) A cattle owner must give at least one milch cow to his cow-
231 herd (umushumba) who does not have time to cultivate for himself.

[465] 3) A Muhutu who cultivates the fields of a Mututsi receives milk (intizo) from him morning and evening.

4) A cow is given to two farmers who share the milk and the payments required in exchange (2).

2. Milking a cow is equal to the salary for one day of cultivation.

681 IMPONGANO. A cow given in reparation for an offense or as a
431 present to the one (inshuti) whose intervention may help to win the lawsuit.

INGURANO. A redemption cow given by a patron or the head of a
[696] family to keep the guilty one from being condemned. [59]

192 INKUNGURANYO (1). Primus, owner of a heifer approaches
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1. From gukunguranya, "to exchange two cows of equal value definitely and irrevocably."

Secundus to ask him to exchange the cow for a female calf or for two bulls. They must not give anything in addition in order to have an absolute right over the exchanged object, but neither of them has the right to take back the exchanged value.

426 by his son, his daughter, or his daughter-in-law, and possibly an umugaragu. In the past, if a debtor fled in order to avoid his obligations, the creditor had the right to seize his cattle, [82] his banana plantations, and even his hut. However, in this case, the children could keep their father's property on the condition of agreeing to work for the creditor until the debt was fully paid.

Sometimes a patron pays for his client if the latter has only a storehouse of provisions and if he needs the help of his family to work for his shebuja. If the umugaragu dies, his son takes his place. The obligation thus passes to the descendants until it is fulfilled.

On the other hand, the creditor's brother or son can act in the place of their relatives (1).

1. Laws of the Family and of the Clan, p. 8.

574 Hospitality.

The duty of hospitality is sacred to the Banyarwanda. Even a Mututsi will never refuse a Muhutu either ichumbi (lodging) or izimano (wood, water, and food). A proverb says; "Uwubaka wese. yubakira abu Mwami (2), and whoever did not grant food and lodging

2. "Whoever builds (a house) does it for the people of the Mwami," which means that his house must be open to all the king's subjects.

to a traveler would be given the name of umugome (bad); he would be Uwanga Umwami (an enemy of the Mwami).

Civil responsibility.

672 Civil responsibility does not exist. The parents themselves however, repair any damage done by their children.

SECTION V. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

1. Nationality

563 The Munyarwanda people include the Batutsi, the Bahutu, and the Batwa. The Mututsi aristocracy of Hamite origin dominates

273 people, it is not out of virtue but simply because they do not have enough to eat and drink to satisfy their appetites. They could eat an ox at one sitting, and if they were given as much beer as they wanted, they would keep drinking from morning till night" (No. 19, p. 317). Drunkenness is not regarded as a shortcoming or a vice but as evidence of the prosperity or generosity of the host. After the millet and banana harvest, from July to September, is the time for brewing beer (kwenga insoga, kutoba), the period of gluttony and general drunkeness all over Urundi, and this continues until the provisions are exhausted. Often the last drop disppears down the gullet after not more than four weeks, and the thirsty souls have to remain
273 abstinent until the next harvest period. During the period of
574 carousal, singing and shouting can be heard issuing from most homesteads deep into the night, for there are no quiet and solitary drinkers. Drinking beer is always a social affair. One person after another invites friends and relatives to communal drinking bouts, and in this manner they make the rounds among all the families of friends, guzzling until nothing is left. In
[431] addition to this, pots filled with beer are given as presents or any suitable occasion, and then they are shared by receiver and donor together. Of course, beer is part of any kind of festive occasion which usually also includes dancing (see pp. 65, 125).
273 Since the banana beer, which is the most popular, is quite
579 potent and since, in addition, the Barundi are by nature easily
152 excited, the more advanced stages of such communal drinking bouts usually take a rather wild form. Quite regularly violent arguments ensue, and often fights result in which even lances are used, sometimes ending in manslaughter. In the latter case, the consequences for the families concerned are quite disastrous (see pp. 97, 145).

273 Significantly enough, beer-brewing among the Barundi
[462] is a task with which the women are charged. They are experts in this respect, but they also are hard drinkers. There are four different types of beer in Urundi. The most potent, popular, and widespread type is banana beer (insoga j'ivitoke). To

614 Abasinga, Abagessera, Abasiete, etc. /46/

2. Bahutu Ethnic Group

a) Oldest clans: —
Ababanda, Abagessera, Abazigaba, Abungura, Abasinga, Abatchaba or Abiru, etc.

b) Secondary or recent clans:
Abambari, Abalevu, Abalindwa, Abatabo, Abahindi, Abakora, Abahigo, Abahuma, Abatembe, Abaziko, Abashobyo, Abondo, Abanyunjo, Abajongo, Abachira, Abakwa, Abanyoni, Abungura, Abalimba, etc.

3. Batwa Ethnic Group

563 They borrow their designations from the Bahutu for most of
614 their clans. Although of Bahutu origin, the Bayovu are linked to the Batwa race. They are regarded as a degenerate group because, like the Negrillos, they eat animals considered impure and make pottery.

In spite of their more or less artificial division into tribes, the Pygmies actually regard themselves from a social point of view as part of one single group called Batwa. They practice what we call solidarity among themselves.

If one of them is killed, the whole group feels injured and
● [574] rises to avenge him. A Mutwa /sing. of Batwa/ who travels is everywhere offered hospitality by his "brothers," even if they do not know him.

421 Property rights exist among the Banyarwanda. They are well defined by custom and tradition, notwithstanding temporary injustices and the discretionary powers of the king and of the chiefs. Everyone recognizes those rights and accepts them in principle. No one fails to exercise them or claim them.

They are taken into account in legal proceedings.

421 Daughters do not inherit but are taken care of by their brothers until the day they marry. /47/

351 elephant grass. In the compounds of wealthy persons, consisting of at least three huts, this entrance leads into the front courtyard.

[201] In this courtyard, opposite the entrance, is the kambele, the house occupied by the head of the family. On the side, usually to the left of this house, is the entrance to the inner courts. The front court as well as the inner courts are kept clean and free of grass. Here the clients and subordinates of the head of the establishment assemble to learn his wishes, commands, and decisions. Here he receives his guests who are conducted no farther than into the kambele. Sacrifices also take place here. In Musinga's compound I saw two carefully tended sacrificial trees between the entrance gate and his house on both sides of and at a

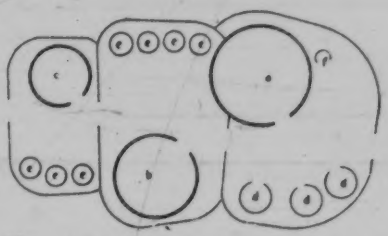

Fig. 127. Compound, Nyanza on Lake Mohasi: (a) kambele, (b) kagondo, (c) mubahutu, (d) stalls for calves, (e) storehouses, (f) spirit hut.

certain distance from the line connecting the two. In the front court near the house one also sees small spirit huts.

In many compounds the front court also contains huts for small calves, and animals are kept here at night. In one single instance I saw a hut for larger calves outside the enclosure. It was explained to me that the whole herd was kept near this hut overnight.

592 In the inner court is the house for the women, known as kagondo. Here the master's wife spends the day with her women servants. It is only in the evening that she is brought to the [244] kambele in a litter. The husband eats with his wife in the kagondo.

841 302 585 adornment at the proper time (first menstrual period after marriage), one of the partners will die young. After her head has been shaved the wife receives gifts from her husband.

585 574 When the woman has put on her cowhide, she pays her parents a visit. It sometimes happens that if the menstrual period is early this visit precedes the gift of the first hoe. On the way to her parents she has her head wrapped in the skin and is wearing her best jewelry. At her parents' house she grinds flour and fills a basket, piling it high. She removes as much as is piled over the edge of the basket and takes this to her husband. It is cooked [842] to a stiff mush, and husband and wife eat it together. This ceremony is also supposed to guarantee numerous descendants.

593 Children are prominent in the family. The parents love them tenderly and treat them well. Although the intimate relationship between mother and child excludes the father somewhat, nevertheless the husband and wife show a certain attachment and tenderness toward one another. This is said to be true particularly of the Batutsi.

In Mulera, when a man goes on a journey, his wife pours off a little beer from each jug used and puts it aside. If the man returns and finds no beer, he concludes that his wife has not thought of him and has been unfaithful to him.

586 In Nduga, as we have mentioned before, marriages are of only moderate duration.

585 The Mulera wedding has been beautifully and completely described by Father Felix Dufays (1), and the marriage customs in [113]

1. Dufays, Father F., "Lied und Gesang bei Brautwerbung und Hochzeit in Mulera-Ruanda [Song and Singing during Courtship and Marriage in Mulera-Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1909, pp. 847-878.

other parts of Ruanda were discussed by Father P. Schumacher. (2)

2. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda [Marriage in Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1910, pp. 870-906.

585 ? Extramarital Relations. Not all women who share a house-
567 hold with a man are his regular wives (basumba kazi) with whom
848 he has entered into a formal purchase marriage. Concubines
588 and slaves (baja) are also kept in Ruanda. The concubines are [225] usually childless widows and abandoned or fugitive women. They settle wherever they find a relatively good refuge. The baja are sold by their parents when they are children, usually in exchange for food during a famine. They are simply women without ties, but who are otherwise very much like the other women and usually also have their own huts. Their children are likewise said to belong to the father's family, although they are not regarded as equal. Such children of Batutsi men, for example, are said not to be regarded as Batutsi although they have the same family name.

588 The chiefs grant baja to their clients, a practice which is
567 even more clearly defined among the Azande and Mangbetu, for example. The baja, along with the cow, are the means whereby the powerful one binds his clients to himself and thus strengthens his power.

567 Just as a man can grant a cow to a client and also demand it
● 574 back, so he can likewise put a muja at the temporary disposal of
837 a favorite. Under these circumstances the entertainment of guests with women "who are to warm his bed for him" is quite understandable. The less esteemed guests are given baja; the highly respected guests, on the other hand, are honored by being offered regular wives.

574 In general, a man on a journey has at his disposal the wives
837 of his blood brothers. Dr. Kandt (1) says that from certain social

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 177.

aspects this arrangement has its positive points: "Alternating connubium, that is, the interchangeable pairing of several male blood relatives with all their wives, as is permitted in Ruanda, prevents the loss of the female element in the preservation of the race, should the male element prove unfit."

574 This custom seems to be widespread particularly among the
837 Batutsi as well as among the Bahima. Father Achte sees in it the reason why polygamy is relatively undeveloped among the Bahima.

548 In spite of polygamy and the fact that it is easy to enter into marriage in Ruanda, there is a sort of prostitute. These are widows or older women, as well as girls who have not found a husband. They give themselves in exchange for presents, thereby earning their living. They are called inzorezi. Young men have sexual intercourse with them before marriage. The word is derived from the verb kuzerera, "to run about."

836 Prostitutes and concubines are distinguished from nyamuraza, roving girls who enter into a sort of trial marriage and have intercourse in this way. They hope [226] by this means to persuade a man who would otherwise not have given them any consideration to make the conventional payment and thus make a proper marriage. This attempt may be repeated several times.

586 Divorce. If a man is not satisfied with his wife he may, without further ado, send her back home. If the woman was at fault, if she was unfaithful or sterile, a demand may be made for the return of the payment given for her.

In Mulera the cow which was paid for the woman, as well as all the animal's young, are returned in this type of divorce if the woman has had no children. If the woman has lived for some time with her husband, the cows may be replaced by calves. While I was in Ruasa the whole countryside was in a state of excitement over an unusual divorce suit. A man named Lwamakuba paid for his wife with a cow which in the course of time gave his father-in-law ten calves. When the wife grew old, her husband sent her back home indicating that she was sterile. He demanded the return of his payment which had meanwhile increased to a whole herd of cattle. After many negotiations the wife returned with an excellent cow which was supposed to make up for her beauty defects. The husband took his wife back, and the matter was settled. After a time, the wife was sent back again. Five times the woman returned, always with another cow. At the time of my visit the woman was being sent back for the sixth time.

7:Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

Meat was always cut from the bones before being served, 252
and the bones were given to the servants or to peasants. Men 264
sometimes ate with their families, but almost always they ate
alone and in secret, and even the food that was left over from
their meal might not be seen, for should there chance to be [626]
bones amongst it, the man was laughed at and made fun of
by those who saw it. It was the duty of a man's wife to cut
up the meat and remove all bones. If a friend paid a visit he 574
might partake of a meal only if he was with his host from the
beginning of it; if he arrived during the meal he was not
permitted to approach. The rules of hospitality were very
strict, and even a poor person of the same clan would be [614]
invited to share a man's meal, while the richest member of
one of the despised clans would never be allowed to do so.
Among the better classes the cooks were men, but among [462]
poor people women cooked for their husbands.

There were no special rules about fire; but it was always 372
preferable to obtain it from some other fire, and only if this
was impossible would they use fire-sticks to kindle it.

The Cattle

The people were largely agricultural, but cows were looked 231
upon as their wealth and they kept large herds, some running 556
even into thousands; while a man who was considered only
moderately rich would have four or five hundred.

The people, because of their agricultural pursuits, had fixed 233
dwellings, but the herdsmen wandered about with the cows [361]
for pasture. The cattle were of mixed types, some short-
horned and some long-horned; they were divided into herds
of two to four hundred, each herd being under the care of a
head-man and twelve or more others. They roamed the pasture
lands two or three months at a time without returning home,
sleeping in grass huts hastily erected, while the cattle were left [343]
in the open without fences. The calves were kept in the huts and
their presence prevented the cows from straying, while a watch
was kept to protect them from wild animals. The men stayed
only a few days in each place. The wives of the herdsmen lived

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

irregular, dependent on circumstances—a good hunt or a generous reward for dancing and singing.

The Tutsi had a strictly controlled attitude towards solid food. They behaved as if the need for nourishment was, if not shameful, at least beneath their dignity. The taking of a meal was something to be done privately. Friends were offered beer or milk, but they were not asked to share a whole meal. When travelling the Tutsi were not supposed to eat solid food and if the journey did not exceed two or even three days, they very often actually did not eat. It is said that a true Tutsi subsists only on milk and beer and some old men take pride in boasting of it. This attitude towards solid food might be explained as an attempt on the part of the conquering pastoralists to stress their independence of the foodstuffs produced by and characteristic of commoners and on a deeper level as an affirmation of what we might term a fundamental difference between themselves and Hutu. The Tutsi, according to their legends, came from another world. They were human beings like the Hutu, but not in quite the same way. This interpretation of the Tutsi attitude to food is supported by their emphasis on greediness in the Hutu character, and gluttony in the Twa. In most of the tales in which Hutu appeared, they were conspicuous by their overeating. For the Twa this feature was still more stressed. Another fact significant in this respect was the very strong prohibition on Hutu servants attending the meals of their Tutsi masters to reveal what they ate. This prohibition was magically sanctioned.

4. CLOTHING AND SHELTER

In the highlands, especially during the rainy season and at night, adequate covering against cold and damp is needed. Boys and girls, however, go completely naked as long as they are *abana* (children), that is up to the age of eight or nine for girls and ten or eleven for boys. As children usually do not go very far from the compounds, they may find some protection against cold either inside the hut or by picking up a skin or blanket. But the great number of diseases of the respiratory organs among children is a sign of their inadequate protection against bad weather.

The traditional Twa garment was a sheep skin. The Hutu wore bark-cloth as a sort of skirt from the waist down to the knees.

10: Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42
Hutu

Ethel M. Albert

562 Hutukazi have as their first duty cultivating the husband's fields.
564 During the two or three weeks before the rainy season, a woman
241 leaves the house each day a little after sunrise, pregnant or a baby on her back and another child trailing behind her, hoe in hand. She must prepare the soil and sow the seed. Once or twice during the rainy season, she must weed the peas, beans and millet. At harvest time, she is again very busy for two or three weeks.[14] She must harvest the crops and must carry it from the fields to her yard in bundles of from 30 to 50 kilograms on her head; there she must
[251] dry and clean what she has harvested. Finally, she stores the food
[574] in large storage baskets and brews the sorghum beer. Between the
517 planting season and the harvest, there is leisure for visits to her mother or sister, to take it easy at home, to gossip with a neighbour, and to weave baskets.

462 Daily, a woman must prepare meals, watch and instruct her
512 children, and pick up around the house and yard. In the morning,
564 the pot of beans or peas for the evening meal must be set on the three-stone hearth to cook. In mid-morning, work is stopped for
[264] breakfast, the cold leftovers from the previous evening's dinner. If there is no child old enough to send, a woman must herself return at intervals to the house from the fields or from the house of her
[313 neighbour to add firewood to the fire. Each day she must draw
415] water from the spring and carry it back in her 20-litre pot on her
482 head to the house, and she must cut firewood and carry it back to the house on her head. Every few days she must sweep the yard
[356] and the packed-dirt floors of the house and change the straw on the beds, especially if her husband will be staying with her that
[252] night. It is also necessary every week to grind the sorghum, cassava, or maize into flour for *umudsima*, a polenta eaten with each meal. Ordinarily, a woman does the work only for her own house.
[606] However, a mother-in-law has the right to assign tasks—other than
[574] cooking—to her daughters-in-law. There is especially great need for help when there are visitors. It is necessary to prepare beer and food, and if they stay the night, a bed must be made ready.

462 When the husband is home, he will probably help his wife to
564 clear a new plot of ground or to sow or harvest, according to the
593 season. If he does not like to do woman's work, he stays at home while his wife goes to the fields or he visits a neighbour who has beer. If the husband is at home, he will probably be the one to chase away the animals who try to get into the yard at night or who are foraging for food in the fields. If he is not home, the wife has to look after these matters. If at night, a hyena, having scented the goat or the sheep in the yard, tries to enter, the woman will

10: Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

000 never have to do menial tasks. Young girls are taught, so that they
867 will be refined, to command and to correct inferiors gently but firmly; to weave pretty baskets; to rub red and yellow ochre on the wooden milk pots which are lined up on a long shelf to display the herder's wealth; to offer beer and food to visitors and to sing and dance, breasts bared, to entertain them. Later, a young woman must learn to cover her face with her scarf, to so arrange her
[574] numerous diaphanous white and yellow robes that her entire body is covered, and to engage visitors in conversation while shielded from view by a screen. She must learn how to listen and to understand. If a young girl has noticed that her mother is a good conversationalist, she takes into account the fact that her mother is discreet, intelligent and older than she.

577 The more closely a woman approximates to the feminine ideal
593 for her caste, the greater her hope for the rewards due to a married
564 woman. A good wife should receive from her husband a quantity of clothes and jewels proportionate to his wealth, permission to go out and to visit where she wishes, permission to drink her husband's beer and to take snuff. In addition she will be praised wherever her husband travels. If the husband has cows, he will give her several so that she and the children will have milk, and he may give her one or more as gifts. If he likes her very much, he will plan in advance the means by which she can remain on his property if he predeceases her. To be a good wife means first of all to execute wifely tasks efficiently. Then, towards her husband and parents-in-law, a good wife is always obedient and respectful, at least while there are outsiders present. Intelligence is a highly desirable characteristic and is indeed indispensable in anyone who will be the wife of a prince. A capable woman will be consulted by her husband, especially if he knows that she is cleverer than he. Among the Hutu, the husband asks advice of an intelligent wife before he goes to ask a cow of a Tutsi, before choosing a wife for their son, before he does anything. Among the Tutsi, a husband who takes pride in his wife's intelligence will consult her before he chooses a serf, goes to his superior to ask for another cow. He does nothing without her advice and boasts about her intelligence and loyalty to his friends. Among the princes, family and economic affairs are hardly distinguishable from affairs of state. Thus, intelligent women come to have a voice in matters of the first importance.

[574] A good hostess who provides food and drink for her husband's visitors need never fear his anger. Just as women speak a great deal of the importance of receiving clothing from their husbands, so men speak a great deal of the importance of a warm welcome for

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

their friends, especially if they are away from home. A wife who always gives abundant beer and food to her husband's friends is, by so doing, showing respect for her husband.

Beauty does not count very heavily, but a man is not displeased if people notice that his wife is attractive and well-fleshed, has a long and narrow nose, a light skin, and is somewhat like a cow. If a woman is fortunate, she will have a child every two years, and the children will not die. One of the most fortunate women of whom the Rundi spoke—a Tutsikazi *imfura*, needless to say—gave birth to a child virtually every 11 months. The husband of a wife who produces many children is a real man, and people always speak highly of the fathers of many children.

A husband supervises his wife, as every superior supervises his inferiors, and he must punish her if she does not do as she ought. Hence, a Tutsi will not hesitate to go to see whether all the clothes he has given his wife are in the baskets that serve as wardrobes for women. He also goes to see if everything is clean. If he is not satisfied, he will warn his wife that she must change her ways. Sometimes she makes excuses. Perhaps she has not worked well because she has been ill, or because she had to do a great deal of work for her mother-in-law, because several of the workers have run off to Uganda, because her husband ordered more work than she had strength to do. A considerate husband will check up on his wife's explanations. If he is satisfied that they are correct, he will do his best to see that she has help, even if he has to help her himself. A man of bad character, however, does not accept any excuses. He will beat his wife, he will insult her, and she can expect to be sent back home, unless she becomes angry and goes back without waiting to be sent.

The Rundi speak a great deal about "good character" and "bad character". Character, for them, explains most of human behaviour. Obviously, the ideal marriage unites a woman of good character with a man of good character. However, there are a great many people of bad character, probably most people. This explains, they say, the numerous quarrels and divorces. People know what they ought to do, but they don't do it. In all truth, a young woman lives like a nomad. She goes from her father's home to the home of her first husband, then after quarrels or divorce back again to her father, then to a second husband, then back to her father, until at last she finds a husband who pleases her and who at the same time is pleased with her. Divorce is forbidden those who are Catholics. Nevertheless, for them as for the other Rundi, married life is no more peaceful than any other interpersonal relationship among the

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

manager is indispensable to a wealthy man, for he has many feudal vassals, serfs, cows and lands. A woman of a powerful and wealthy patrilineage can be of great assistance to her husband in the matter of forming useful political alliances. The wife will probably have considerable influence with her brothers and perhaps also with her father.

The higher the social status of a woman, the higher will be the social status of her husband, and hence the higher the status of the visitors she entertains. In her role as hostess, a clever woman can profit very materially from the visits of her husband's friends and superiors. If she knows she pleases them, she will do them the honour of asking them for cows and other gifts. If her favourite son is ready to take his place in the world, she will look around among the visitors for a likely prospect of whom her son can ask a cow, if it is a family where the traditional values still prevail, or of whom he can ask for a job, if the son has been trained in European schools. In addition, the fair name of a man among his friends depends in no small measure upon the magnificence of the hospitality provided in his home by his wife and upon the gossip that circulates between the visitors and the wife. If a woman is satisfied with her husband, she will see to it that visitors have a good impression of the man. She will find ways to get information to gauge the friendliness of the visitors towards her husband. She will recognize his enemies and know how to defeat them. If she hears from the visitors that there are rumours to the effect that her husband is no longer loyal to his superior, that he does not take care of the cows which his superior has given him, that he will soon be removed from his position and his wealth taken away from him, she will probably seek means to save him, since his downfall will also be hers. However, if the husband is not clever, if he has not been generous, and if the wife sees a way to move to a more favourable position in another marriage, she will risk adding her calumny to the rest. It does not happen often, but when a woman has succeeded in ruining her husband, men talk about it for a long, long time. A mature woman prefers to stay with her husband and then, as a widow, with her favourite son. Among the men with whom she is in contact—her father, her brothers, her husband, her brothers-in-law, her cousins, her sons, and her visitors—an intelligent woman will certainly find a few who are generous and obliging and through whom she can obtain the wealth and power that she desires.

In all this, it is not to be forgotten that a woman is the inferior of her husband and of his distinguished visitors. To get what is wanted, an inferior must know how to please superiors, unfailingly